1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

591 The parting of brothers, or the separation of a married son from the
422 paternal family, rarely occurs. This happens, in the first place, among people very rich in reindeer. The division of too large a herd may become a necessity for the care of the reindeer. The widow's reindeer pass over to her brother-in-law with whom she lives; but if she has children, her brother-in-law
[589] manages the reindeer only temporarily. A widow who does not re-marry remains with her sons, together with her reindeer; but if she has no sons, she joins her brothers, or manages the herd herself, with the help of herdsmen. The lately widowed sister of the Taigonos elder figured on Plate XXXII, Fig. 2, has remained single; and, with her two adult daughters, she personally directs a herd of eight hundred reindeer. For this purpose she keeps two herdsmen, of whom one was in the position of a bridegroom doing service for her eldest daughter.

587 LEVIRATE. — The institutions known under the general term of "levirate" embrace marriage-customs which, though similar but not wholly uniform, are found among various tribes. I retain this name also for the Koryak institution of this category, although it is not quite broad enough in its strict sense. The word "levirate" denotes the custom by virtue of which a brother (or other relative) marries the widow of his elder brother (or relative). Among the Koryak an analogous custom extends also to the widower. The younger sister or relative of the defunct wife must become his wife. Thus the Koryak levirate may be summed up as follows: —

1. The widow must be married to the younger brother, younger cousin or nephew (son of sister or brother), of her deceased husband.

2. The widower must marry the younger sister, younger cousin or niece (daughter of sister or brother), of his deceased wife.

I have recorded twelve cases of marriage through levirate. Of these, the widower was married to his deceased wife's sister in one case, to her cousin in two cases, and to her niece in two; the widow married her deceased husband's younger brother in two cases, his younger cousin in four cases, and his nephew in one case.

From the relations of levirate marriage, it becomes clear why two brothers or male cousins, or an uncle and nephew, cannot be married to two sisters, two cousins, or an aunt and her niece. In case of the death of the elder brother, cousin, or uncle, the younger brother cousin, or nephew would be unable to take the widows of the first three for wives, unless one man might be married to two sisters, cousins, or aunt and niece. As stated before, such a polygynous marriage is not permitted by custom.[1]

595 The latter custom must be supposed to be of less ancient origin than
587 other marriage taboos, and I think is the foundation for woman's increased modesty. A Koryak who has two or more wives sleeps in one sleeping-tent

See p. 758.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

with all of them, and shares his bed, now with one, and then with another. The sense of shame forbids a woman to be present at the acts of the intimate life of her sister. What, then, is the origin of this, which I should call "two-sided Koryak levirate"?

McLennan[1] and his followers consider the custom of levirate among other tribes as a survival of polyandry. Westermarck[2] demolishes this view with great conclusiveness. But if we admit that McLennan is right, whatever he says applies to the one-sided levirate usually spoken of by the ethnologists and sociologists; i. e., when the younger brother marries the elder brother's widow. But, of course, nobody considers the marriage of a widower with the younger sister of his deceased wife a survival of polyandry.

Lubbock's and Spencer's explanation of levirate is, that woman is viewed as a property which the brother-in-law inherits along with other possessions. Possibly the explanation may apply to the levirate custom of some tribes; but in cases where the widower takes the younger sister of his deceased wife, there can be no question of proprietary title to her; also in the passing of the widow to her deceased husband's younger brother, the family right does not always coincide with the right of property, as it appears from the Koryak order of inheritance. Besides, according to the customs of the Koryak, the elder brother, although he receives part of the inheritance left by his younger brother, cannot marry his widow.

The view that levirate is connected with the cult of ancestors — such as prevailed among the ancient Hindoos and Hebrews, through the necessity of having an heir in the interests of salvation and bliss in heaven — does not apply to the Koryak levirate either, not only because it is two-sided, but also because among the Koryak any widow of the elder brother, and not alone one without any offspring, or without male offspring, passes over to the younger brother.

Nevertheless I do think that Koryak levirate, though from another point of view, is connected with the cult of ancestors, or rather with the cult of the family hearth. I have pointed out before[3] that each Koryak family has its guardians and its incantations. The family hearth, the chief family guardian, is averse to admitting strangers. Since primitive man views every stranger as a possible foe, the family guardians are inimically disposed toward every stranger, and are ready to guard the family against the evil eye, word, and other magic acts of strangers. Access to the family hearth is had with difficulty only. Besides, the family hearth is connected with the deceased relatives whose souls return in new-born children. Marriages between two

[1] See J. J. McLennan, The Levirate and Polyandry (The Fortnightly Review, London, 1877, Vol. xxi, pp. 694—707).

[2] See E. Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage, London, 1901, p. 510.

[3] See Part I, pp. 46, 59.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

587 In his preliminary report on the Chukchee, Bogoras speaks of the existence of levirate among them,[1] but a more detailed discussion of their customs
171 may be expected in his description of the social organization of the Chukchee in this series. From certain passages in Steller's book on the Kamchadal,[2] the conclusion may be drawn that among them a levirate similar to that of the Koryak existed; i. e., that it was two-sided.[3] It is a matter of great regret that he does not dwell in detail on this institution. An interesting feature of the marriage customs of the Kamchadal is mentioned by both Steller and Krasheninnikoff.[4] It is evidently connected with the levirate, and is quite similar to the Jewish rite of khaliche, which is a substitute for actual marriage with a relative's widow. According to these travellers, nobody would marry a widow before an outsider had had sexual intercourse with her, which was called "removing the sin from her." By that intercourse a woman was evidently freed from the union with her deceased husband's family; and her new husband could take her to his own family hearth without incurring vengeance on the part of her first husband's spirit. This explanation is favored by another passage in Steller, in which he states that a man may take his deceased brother's widow *without* any ceremonies.[5] The person who would undertake to "remove sin" from a woman was paid for this service; and prior to the coming of the Cossacks, it was difficult to find among the Kamchadal men who would volunteer for this undertaking, which, according to their belief, was fraught with danger.

595 Polygyny. — In some myths the heroes have two wives, and in two of them they have three; but the majority of marriages recorded in the myths are monogamous. The Supreme Deity and Big-Raven have each but one wife. In contemporary Koryak life as well, we find that monogamous marriages prevail, although custom places no limits on the number of wives.

Among the Maritime Koryak, I questioned 93 married men. Of these, 13 (i. e., 13.6 %) had two wives each, and not a single one had more than two. Among the Reindeer Koryak I recorded the family conditions of 65 married men; and of them, but 3 had two wives each, and 1 had three wives; i. e., the percentage of men having more than one wife was but 6 %, or but half as much as among the Maritime Koryak. Some of the men with two wives had taken a second wife because the first one was barren; others had married a second time because their first wife, who was obtained

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[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 35. [2] See Steller, pp. 346, 347.

[3] Customs similar to what I call "two-sided levirate" are known also among other tribes. Some of them are enumerated by Kohler (Urgeschichte der Ehe, p. 144), who regards this custom as a survival of former "group-marriages." The same custom is also met with among North American tribes. For instance, of the Ojibwas, W. Jones says (Central Algonkin, Annual Archæological Report, Toronto, 1906, p. 136), "It was usual for a man to marry the widow of his brother, and a widower might marry the sister of his dead wife." The same is stated by Teit with reference to the Thompson Indians (see Teit, p. 325), and by Dorsey to the Skidi Pawnee (Congrès International des Américanistes, XV^e Session, Québec, 1907, Vol II, p. 73). No explanation, however, is given by the last three authors as to the origin of this custom.

[4] See Steller, p. 346; Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 178. [5] See Steller, p. 347.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

through levirate, was too old. In some cases the second wife, who was obtained through levirate, is the younger of the two. Only in two cases did I find that both wives had children, and in neither of these cases were levirate customs involved. On the other hand, in three cases of men having two wives, neither wife had children. Their barrenness, accordingly, must be attributed to the husband. The only man with three wives whom I saw was the elder of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak.[1] He had children by his first wife; but she became ill, evidently with hereditary syphilis, and her face is so deformed that she covers it up whenever an outsider enters the tent. His second wife is barren; and from the youngest, the third wife, he has offspring. In one case, a young man who married an old woman, his uncle's widow, through levirate, took into his house a little girl, and began to live with her after she had grown older. She seemed about sixteen years old when I saw her, and she was pregnant at the time. Such marriages with minors were more common in former times. Generally speaking girls marry when twenty years old, or even older.

It is interesting to note that the greater number of monogamous marriages among the Reindeer Koryak coincides with the greater number of men as compared with women among them.

The statistics of the official census for 1897 have been discussed before (p. 445). I myself made a detailed census of the Maritime Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to the three Itkana villages, inclusive, and of the Reindeer Koryak on the Taigonos Peninsula and along the Tilqai River. According to my count, there were 102 women to every 100 men among the Maritime Koryak, and but 89 women to every 100 men among the Reindeer Koryak. The ratio of women to men which I obtained among the Maritime Koryak was identical with the one I found in the official census of all the Maritime Koryak. But the percentage of women among the Reindeer Koryak which I obtained was even below the census of 1897, which gives 90.8 females for each 100 males. This may possibly be explained by the fact that I took the census after an epidemic of measles which had carried off more women than men, and left many widowers.

Judging from both myths and actual observation, it seems that the prevailing form of marriage among the Koryak is monogamic, and that polygyny kept up by the custom of levirate and the desire of having an offspring when the first wife is barren. However, in certain traditions which I heard, relating to a past by no means remote, stories are told of strong men, who were good warriors and skilful hunters, and who had harems of women taken by force from their fellow-tribesmen. A cavern on the rocky coast of Penshina Bay was pointed out to me as the dwelling-place of such

[1] According to Dittmar, when he visited the Taigonos Peninsula, the elder had four wives (Dittmar, Die Korjaken, p. 25).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

795 173 a "woman-snatcher." He would lie in wait for Koryak boats passing by, and would take away the wives of the oarsmen. A similar tale[1] is found among the myths. Worm-Man, who carried away many women after slaying their husbands and brothers, takes away the wife of Eme'mqut. He is slain by the latter. Eme'mqut brings back to life the husbands and brothers of the women whom Worm-Man had captured, and restores to their families the wives and sisters, whom he sets free. Many of the brothers give their sisters to Eme'mqut. He retains only three of them: the others he distributes among his brothers and his cousin Illa'.

595 In a household with more than one wife, the first is considered the mistress of the house. The second wife consults the first in everything, and carries out her instructions. In the majority of cases the wives live in harmony. When intending to take a second wife, the husband usually consults with the first one. An old woman who has grown-up daughters to help her in housekeeping, often asks her husband to take a second, younger wife. But some women are jealous, especially if the second marriage was contracted against their will, and quarrel with the second wife. In myths, too, we find cases of hostile relations between wives, and even of the murder of one wife by another. In one case the first wife cuts off the second wife's nose.[2] Here I will relate a characteristic case from the life of a man who had two wives. A Koryak from Kamenskoye, Qačilqut by name, whom I have mentioned several times, and whose first wife was childless, courted the young widow of a deceased distant relative of his. For a long time he could not take her to his house, as his first wife was opposed to their marriage. Finally, despite the objections of the first wife, he brought his second wife to his house. During the husband's absence, the first wife often beat and tortured the second one. Sometimes she would prick her face with a needle. The second wife bore everything in silence, and did not complain to her husband. This finally appeased the jealousy of the first wife, and they now live in peace. All this was told me by Qačilqut's first wife herself. She is a very bright, energetic woman, and still young. Her husband is a merchant. When he goes on a business trip to the Reindeer Koryak, she accompanies him as his clerk, and always brings some present for her friend, the second wife. Like the other polygynous Koryak, they all sleep in one sleeping-tent, — the husband in the middle, the first wife to his right, the second to his left.

584 In connection with this subject should be mentioned the cases of men transformed into women, which in former times were not uncommon, and were called qava'u or qeve'u.[3] Like the ancient Kamchadal koe'kčuč[4] and

[1] See Part I, p. 145. [2] Ibid., pp. 259, 268, 291. [3] Ibid., p. 32.
[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, pp. 114, 222; Steller, p. 212.

I: Jochelson E-S (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the present Chukchee irka'la'ul, Koryak "transformed men" contracted marriage with men, or, when there was another real wife, would be kept as concubines, and lived with the so-called husband in improper intimacy. This, of course, cannot be treated as a normal institution of marriage. Such cases were few in number. Bogoras states that among three thousand Kolyma Chukchee he registered five cases of men who were believed to be transformed into women; but of these, only two were "married" to other men.[1] I think abnormal sexual relations have developed under the influence of the ideas concerning shamanistic power, which the "metamorphosed" men obtain from the spirits at whose bidding and with whose help the change of sex is accomplished. These beliefs have found fertile soil in individuals of abnormal physical and psychical development. With the decadence of shamanism among the Koryak, and the Russianization of the Kamchadal, these practices have disappeared in both tribes.

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POLYANDRY. — I had occasion to observe among the Reindeer Chukchee of the Kolyma tundra that they would exchange wives for the night, or that the wife would be placed at the disposal of the transient guest, while the husband would go off to his herd. Mr. Bogoras, who has studied this question more closely, considers this wife-exchange among the Chukchee as a form of group-marriage. The right of two men to each other's wife is stipulated by the mutual agreement of the husbands.[2] This marriage-union is contracted mainly among kinsmen (excepting brothers), such as cousins and second-cousins. A union like this may be contracted among unrelated men as well. Not infrequently this contract is entered into by a married man and a bachelor, who thus pledges his future wife to his friend. Each Chukchee may contract such a union with several persons, who are called "friends in wives." The result of such a union is a polygynic-polyandric group-marriage. The families participating in such a marriage-union retain, nevertheless, their own economic independence, and the children are considered as belonging to the head of the family in which they are born.

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In Steller's[3] description of Kamchatka we find a passage in which it is stated that friends sometimes agree to exchange wives. It is to be regretted that Steller gives no detailed information concerning the character of such agreements.

Krasheninnikoff says that the Reindeer Koryak are jealous beyond measure, and may kill their wives on the mere suspicion of faithlessness.[4] On the other hand, he compares the Maritime Koryak with the Chukchee, and alleges that among them the host's wives and daughters are given over to

[1] See Bogoras, Brief Report, p. 31.
[2] For the same marriage-customs among the western Eskimo, see Nelson, p. 292.
[3] See Steller, p. 347.
[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 201.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 Ry4 Koryak Ry4

595 837 171 the guests, and that the host feels deeply offended should the guest not accept them.[1]

I think that his statement is based on a misunderstanding, or on reports of Cossacks who confounded the Maritime Koryak and the Chukchee. I should find difficulty in deciding who is more jealous, the Maritime or the Reindeer Koryak. If exchange of wives existed among the Koryak in former times, as it did among the Kamchadal, Chukchee, and the northwest Americans, like the Aleut, Eskimo, and Athapascan[2] tribes, I have found no traces of such a custom. True, in one myth two kalat have one wife,[3] but such actions, which men deem evil, are always attributed to evil spirits. In another myth[4] Yiñea-ñeut strikes her husband's younger brother with a cutting-board because he wooed her in his brothers absence. The Koryak themselves deny ever having had the custom of exchanging wives. They assert that a married woman had to go in a dirty dress and with unwashed face, that she might not attract the attention of strange men. Once I asked the elder of the Taigonos Reindeer Koryak, who has three wives, what he thought of the Chukchee custom of exchanging wives. He replied that he would gladly avail himself of the Chukchee hospitality in this regard, but would never consent to reciprocity in the matter. Krasheninnikoff says[5] that the Reindeer Koryak have two and three wives each, and keep them in different places, giving them separate herds and separate herdsmen, as do the reindeer-breeding Chukchee. The above-mentioned elder asserted that neither at present nor in earlier times did any such custom prevail. He says that he would not leave his wife alone with the herd for other men to come and avail themselves of her. If there are two or more wives, they always live in one tent with the husband, as they live in the same house, among the Maritime Koryak. Among the Reindeer Koryak, the senior wife sometimes has a separate sleeping-tent; for instance, that of the Taigonos elder. On the northern side of the Palpal Ridge, where the Reindeer Koryak come into contact with the Reindeer Chukchee, with whom they enter into marriage-relations, the Chukchee marriage-customs may have been adopted to some extent by the Koryak; but, on the other hand, the Chukchee, who roam at present among the Koryak of the Parapol Dol, and whom I had occasion to see, exchange their wives with neither relatives nor neighbors, having adopted the Koryak views on this subject.

837 Of course, even among the Koryak, adultery is met with, though less frequently than among civilized peoples, but never with connivance of the husband. In former times, a wife's faithlessness would often lead to bloody retribution. Nowadays the husband casts out or thrashes the faithless wife without mercy, but he does not touch her lover. I know of one case in

[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202. [2] A. G. Morice, The Canadian Dénés (Annual Archæological Report, Toronto, 1905, p. 196). [3] See Part I, p. 134. [4] Ibid., I, p. 248. [5] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 221.

23: Krasheninnikov N-3 (1736-40) 1764 Koryak

amidſt all their misfortunes, with the pleaſure of having once in their life made a delicious meal.

Amongſt all theſe barbarous nations, excepting the *Kamtſchadales*, theft is reputable, provided they do not ſteal in their own tribe, or if done with ſuch art as to prevent diſcovery; on the other hand, it is puniſhed very ſeverely if diſcovered, not for the theft, but for want of addreſs in the art of ſtealing. A *Tchukotſkoi* girl cannot be married before ſhe has ſhewn her dexterity in this way.

Murder is not looked upon as a great crime unleſs it be in their own tribe, and then the relations of the murdered generally revenge it, but no one elſe takes any notice of it.

In their marriages the rich match with the rich, and the poor with the poor, with little regard either to beauty or any other accompliſhment. They marry for the moſt part into their own family, ſuch as with a firſt couſin, an aunt, or mother-in-law; and, in ſhort, with any relation except their own mother or daughter. The ceremonies of courtſhip are the ſame as among the *Kamtſchadales*. Although the bridegroom ſhould be very rich, yet he is obliged to ſerve three or five years for his bride; during which time they allow them to ſleep together, though the form of catching the bride ſhould not be performed, which they leave 'till the marriage be celebrated, and that is done without any great ceremony. They have ſometimes two, and ſometimes three wives, whom they keep at different places, giving them a herd of deer and a keeper. Their greateſt pleaſure is to go from place to place and examine their cattle; and it is ſurpriſing that the *Koreki*, notwithſtanding their herds are ſo numerous, and they are quite ignorant of arithmetick, can immediately diſcover the leaſt loſs, and even deſcribe all the marks of the deer that is miſſing.

They have a great fondneſs for their children, and breed them up from their infancy to labour and oeconomy. Thoſe that